

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 /026 W
----- 103506

O P 121835Z MAY 75
FM USMISSION NATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1745
INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 2635

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GR, NATO

SUBJECT: GREECE AND NATO-GREEK PAPER

REF: USNATO 2286; USNATO 2532; STATE 108973

BEGIN SUMMARY. GREEK, RG, UK, ITALIAN AND US PERMREPS,
AND SYG KASTL MET PRIVATELY UNDER CHAIRMANSHIP OF BELGIAN
PERMREP DE STAERCKE MAY 12 TO DISCUSS REACTIONS TO
THE GREEK PAPER OF APRIL 24. ALL SUPPORTED US VIEWS OUT-
LINED IN STATE 108973, AND UPSHOT OF SESSION WAS (A) INDICATION
BY GREEK PERMREP THEODOROPOULOS THAT HIS AUTHORITIES WOULD
STUDY ALLIED COMMENTS, LOOKING TOWARD CIRCULATION OF FURTHER
GREEK VIEWS FOLLOWING NATO SUMMIT, WHEN THEODOROPOULOS
ANTICIPATED CLIMATE MIGHT BE MORE PROPITIOUS FOR ADDRESS-
ING GREECE'S PARTICIPATION IN ALLIANCE MILITARY ACTIVITIES;
(B) DECISION THAT, WHILE SYG LUNS WOULD ADVERT AT MAY 13
PERMREP LUNCH TO NEED TO ADDRESS GREECE-NATO ISSUES,
AND WHILE A SIMILAR REFERENCE WOULD BE MADE BY HIM AT
THE DPC SESSION SCHEDULED FOR MAY 15, OTHER ALLIES WOULD PURSUE
PREPARATIONS FOR ADDRESSING GREECE-NATO ISSUES AFTER NATO SUMMIT
IN "GROUP OF 13", WHICH WAS DEEMED PREFERABLE TO
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DPC AS FORUM. END SUMMARY.

1. IN DISCUSSION OF THE SIX PARAGRAPHS IN GREEK PAPER,
BRUCE PRESENTED POINTS OUTLINED IN STATE 108973. OTHERS

COMMENTED AS FOLLOWS:

POINT 1. PECK (UK) INDICATED CONCERN THAT STATE, "ALL GREEK FORCES SHALL BE UNDER NATIONAL COMMAND", IMPLIED THAT SUCH FORCES WOULD CONTINUE TO UTILIZE NATO-FUNDED FACILITIES. HE ALSO INQUIRED ABOUT THE FUTURE STATUS OF NADGE, AIR DEFENSE FORCES UNDER NATIONAL COMMAND, AND GREEK PLANS FOR SHARING INTELLIGENCE OBTAINED BY GREEK FORCES. ON PERSONAL BASIS, KASTL SAID FIRST GREEK POINT DID NOT PRESENT PRACTICAL DIFFICULTIES. BUT HE AGREED WITH US VIEW THAT, FOR POLITICAL REASONS, IT WOULD BE BEST TO OMIT THIS POINT. KRAPF (FRG) CALLED THE FIRST POINT A BASIS ISSUE, BECAUSE IT COULD OPEN THE WAY FOR " ALL KINDS OF SPECIAL CATEGORIES" OF NATO MEMBERSHIP. DE STAERCKE, INDICATING HE CONSIDERED THE LANGUAGE "DANGEROUS", SAID IT WAS NOT ENTIRELY TRUE AS IT STOOD, AND CONSEQUENTLY SUPPORTED ITS OMMISSION.

POINT 2. CATALANO (ITALY) AGREED WITH THE US VIEWS, STATING PATICULARLY HE SOUGHT A CLEARER EXPLANATION OF "RESERVE FORCES" AND "AGGRESSION". PECK SAID THE PHRASE, "NATO RESERVE FORCES", HAD NO MEANING; UK PREFERENCE WOULD BE TO CHARACTERIZE FORCES AS "EARMARKED", THOUGH UK WAS NOT CERTAIN GREEKS WOULD AGREE. SUPPORTING US VIEW ON INCLUSION OF PHRASE, "ARMED ATTACK", PECK INQUIRED WHETHER GREEKS ENVISAGED AGGRESSION AGAINST GREECE ALONE OR ON OTHER ALLIES AS OPERATIVE CONDITION. HE QUESTIONED FURTHER WHETHER ONLY STATUS OF GREEK FORCES WAS TO BE MUTUALLY AGREED UPON AND WHETHER IT WAS GREEK INTENTION TO PROVIDE INFORMATION ON THEIR FORCE PLANNING THROUGH THE NORMAL DPQ CHANNEL. KRAPF SAID THAT, AS IN CONNECTION WITH THE FIRST POINT, THE GREEKS NEEDED TO CLARIFY WHETHER ONLY THEIR FORCES WERE INVOLVED; IF SO, GREEK POINTS 1 AND 2 GIVE THE IMPRESSION THAT THEY ARE SEEKING TO DINE A LA CARTE. AGREEING WITH US VIEWS, KASTL ADDED PERSONALLY THAT HE RECOMMENDED CLEAR GREEK RECOMMIT-
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MENT TO ARTICLES 3 AND 5 OF NAT. DE STAERCKE SAID THAT, AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE FIRST POINT, POINT 2 TOOK ON A "SINISTER" ASPECT. RECALLING THAT THERE ARE ONLY "ASSIGNED", "EARMARKED", AND "RESERVE" NATO FORCES, HE ASKED WHETHER GREECE WOULD MAINTAIN THE THREE CATEGORIES OR, IF NOT, WHAT THE STRUCTURE OF THE GREEK FORCE WOULD BE.

POINT 3. AGREEING WITH US VIEWS, KRAPF UNDERLINED THAT GREEK LANGUAGE NEEDED TO BE ADJUSTED TO CONFORM TO NAT, AND CATALANO ALSO FAVORED LINKAGE TO NATO'S ALERT SYSTEM. IN RESPONSE TO BRUCE'S QUERY, THEODOROPOULOS SAID HE BELIEVED HIS AUTHORITIES HAD INTENDED TO CONVEY

THE SENSE OF "SHALL", RATHER THAN "MAY", WHERE THE
LATTER APPEARED IN THE GREEK TEXT.

POINT 4. PECK, CATALANO AND KASTL AGREED WITH US
VIEWS. DE STAERCKE CALLED POINT 4 "VERY DANGEROUS",
FOR HE COULD ENVISAGE A MOMENT OF CRISIS AT WHICH QUESTIONS
OF DEFINITION COULD RESULT IN AN ALLY BEING DENIED
ASSISTANCE. HE ALSO FORESAW SERIOUS PROBLEMS WERE ALL
ALLIES TO DEFINE THE THREAT OF AGGRESSION DIFFERENTLY.
FINALLY, IN HIS VIEW, THE NAC/DPC EXISTED TO REACH A
CONSENSUS ON SUCH A DEFINITION, AND HE NOTED THAT
DIFFICULTIES IN REACHING A CONSENSUS IN THOSE FORA ON
A DEFINITION IN TIME OF CRISIS WOULD PERSIST EVEN IF
SUCH A DEFINITION WERE GEARED TO THE ALERT SYSTEM.

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O P 121835Z MAY 75
FM USMISSION NATO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1746
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POINT 5. KASTL REMARKED AN ELEMENT THAT
WOULD BE MISSING EVEN IF US AMENDMENTS WERE ACCEPTED:
ONLY GREEK PARTICIPATION IS CONVERGED IN THE LANGUAGE
PROPOSED BY GREECE WHEREAS PROVISION NEEDED TO BE MADE
FOR ALLIED COOPERATION WITH GREEK FORCES, A TWO-WAY
STREET THAT NEEDED TO BE ACKNOWLEDGED IN THE TEXT.
KRAPF, AGREEING WITH KASTL, ADDED THAT POINT 5 REFLECTED
A ONE-SIDED GREEK VIEW; GREECE NEEDS THE HELP OF OTHERS,
HE SAID, PARTICIPATING IN THE COMMON DEFENSE. THEODOROPOULOS
SAID THAT HE INTERPRETED THE LANGUAGE IN THE OPPOSITE
SENSE, READING IT AS IMPLYING THE ROLE THE GREEK FORCES
WOULD BE PREPARED TO PLAY IN AIDING OTHERS. PECK NOTED
THAT THE GREEK FORMULATION SEEMED TO IMPLY PARTICIPATION
ONLY IN EXERCISES, WHEREAS ALLIES WERE SEEKING TO PRESERVE
MAXIMUM GREEK PARTICIPATION IN ALL ACTIVITIES, INCLUDING

NADGE, COMMUNICATIONS, ETC. CATALANO SUPPORTED US AND UK VIEWS. KRAPF SUGGESTED IMPORTANCE OF INDICATING IN POINT 5 THAT IT IS THE EXCEPTION WHERE GREECE DOES NOT COOPERATE, AND THE EXCEPTION IS HOPEFULLY ONLY TEMPORARY. IN THIS CONNECTION, DE STAERCKE SUGGESTED THAT THE DOCUMENT MIGHT CONTAIN A PREAMBULAR FORMULATION INDICATING THAT THE PAPER IS ADDRESSED TO THE EXISTING SITUATION.

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PECK SAID HE UNDERSTOOD POINT 5 TO MEAN THAT GREECE WOULD COOPERATE " BUT WOULD NOT HAVE PERMANENTLY ASSIGNED FORCES, ONLY EARMARKED" REPEAT EARMARKED FORCES." THUS, DURING PEACETIME, ALL NATO ACTIVITIES IN GREECE WOULD CONTINUE AS PART OF THE BARGAIN. BRUCE UNDERLINED AGAIN THE IMPORTANCE OF A STATEMENT THAT GREECE WAS MAKING "SUBSTANTIAL AND MATERIAL CONTRIBUTIONS."

POINT 6. NONE DISAGRED WITH US VIEWS.

2. THEODOROPOULOS EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR ALL COMMENTS EXPRESSED, STATING HIS VIEW THAT, IN SPIRIT, GREEK AND ALLIED POSITIONS ARE NOT FAR APART. HE SUGGESTED THAT GOG MIGHT RESHAPE THE PAPER IN LIGHT OF THE COMMENTS RECEIVED IN ORDER TO AID IN THE SEARCH FOR PRACTICAL SOLUTIONS.

3. IN DISCUSSING NEXT PROCEDURAL STEPS, PERMREPS AND KASTL GENERALLY FAVORED AN APPROACH WHICH WOULD ENTAIL HAVING SYG LUNS REFER AT MAY 13 PERMREP LUNCH TO NEED TO MOVE AHEAD WITH DEFINITION OF GREECE-NATO RELATIONSHIP, AND THEN HAVING LUNS MAKE A SIMILAR STATEMENT AT DPC MAY 15, WHICH WILL ALSO AID IN HOLDING THE TURKS AT BAY FOR A TIME. FURTHER DISCUSSIONS IN NATO, HOWEVER, WOULD BE DEFERRED UNTIL AFTER THE SUMMIT. THEODOROPOULOS STATED HIS HOPE THAT, AFTER THE SUMMIT, THE GREEK POSITION WILL BE MORE FLEXIBLE, POSITIVE AND CONSTRUCTIVE. AGREEMENT ALSO EMERGED THAT, TO AVOID AROUSING ANTAGONISMS AMONG ALLIES EXCLUDED FROM THE "SMALL GROUP", FURTHER MEETINGS OF THE GROUP SHOULD BE HELD ONLY IN PARALLEL WITH FURTHER DISCUSSIONS IN A LARGER BODY.

4. DE STAERCKE POINTED OUT THAT IT WOULD BE ANOMALOUS FOR THE GREEKS TO CONTINUE FULL PARTICIPATION IN THE MILITARY COMMITTEE (MC) WHILE THAT BODY WAS INVOLVED IN PREPARING FOR GREECE-NATO NEGOTIATIONS. AFTER KRAPF NOTED THAT IT WOULD BE PREFERABLE TO MAINTAIN FULL GREEK PARTICIPATION IN THE MC, ALL RALLIED TO HIS VIEW THAT AN INFORMAL "GROUP OF 13", SIMILAR TO THE "GROUP OF 14", ESTABLISHED IN 1966, WOULD BE PREFERABLE TO THE DPC.

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5. COMMENT. IN THE COURSE OF THE NEXT SEVERAL WEEKS, WE PLAN TO STAY IN TOUCH BILATERALLY WITH THE GREEK AND OTHER DELEGATIONS WITH REGARD TO PREPARATIONS FOR DISCUSSION AFTER THE SUMMIT OF ISSUES RELATED TO GREECE-NATO NEGOTIATIONS. MEANWHILE, IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO HAVE FROM EMBASSY ATHENS, IF DEPARTMENT CONCURS, ANY GOG REACTIONS THAT EMERGE IN WAKE OF DISCUSSIONS THUS FAR IN NATO. END COMMENT.

6. DEPARTMENT PLEASE REPEAT TO USNMR SHAPE, USCINCEUR, CINCUSNAVEUR, USDOCOSOUTH.
BRUCE

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